

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 270090
ORIGIN ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 /025 R

66011

DRAFTED BY: ACDA/ISP: LFISCHER

APPROVED BY: ACDA/ISP: MHUMPHREYS

EUR: JHAWES

-----078393 111630Z /45

P 110737Z NOV 77

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 270090

FOL USNATO 10145 SENT ACTION SECSTATE SECDEF INFO BONN LONDON

MBFR VIENNA USNMR SHAPE UNCINCEUR VAIHINGEN OCT 20, 1977

REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

S E C R E T USNATO 10145

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR

SUBJECT: MBFR: TEXT OF FRG INITIATIVE

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF FRG NEW MBFR INITIATIVE TABLED

AT THE OCTOBER 20 MEETING OF THE SPC.

BEGIN TEXT:

1. ALLIED NEGOTIATORS ARE AUTHORIZED TO PRESENT
TO THE EAST THE FOLLOWING MODIFICATIONS TO THE
EXISTING WESTERN PROPOSALS. THEY SHOULD MAKE IT
CLEAR THAT THESE CHANGES, WHICH TAKE ACCOUNT OF
CERTAIN CONCERNS WHICH HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED BY THE
EAST IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, ARE INTENDED
AS A SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 270090

AND THAT A SERIOUS AND CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSE WILL
BE EXPECTED FROM THE EAST. THEY SHOULD MAKE CLEAR
THAT, EXCEPT WHERE SPECIFIED, THE WESTERN PROGRAM
REMAINS UNCHANGED. THEY SHOULD ALSO MAKE CLEAR
THAT THESE PROPOSALS ARE CONDITIONAL ON EAST-WEST
AGREEMENT ON DATA:

2. IF THE EAST IS PREPARED TO AGREE, IN A PHASE I
AGREEMENT, TO SOVIET AND US REDUCTIONS SPECIFIED
BELOW AND TO A COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING IN GROUND

FORCE MANPOWER AT 700,000 AND ON GROUND AND AIR FORCE
MANPOWER AT 900,000 MEN WHICH WOULD BE REACHED BY
FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II, AND ON THE CONDITION
THAT AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON MANPOWER DATA AND THAT
COMMITMENTS IN A PHASE I AGREEMENT REGARDING REDUCTION
AND LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS ARE RESTRICTED TO THOSE
PROPOSED BY THE WEST, NAMELY, SOVIET MAIN BATTLE
TANKS AND THE SPECIFIED US NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS, THE
WEST WOULD BE PREPARED TO AGREE TO THE FOLLOWING
POINTS IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT:

3. IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT THE
TWO SIDES WOULD SPECIFY THE AMOUNT OF THE MANPOWER
REDUCTIONS TO BE TAKEN IN PHASE II BY THE US AND
USSR AND THE OVERALL TOTAL OF MANPOWER REDUCTIONS
TO BE TAKEN BY THE NON-US AND NON-SOVIET DIRECT
PARTICIPANTS RESPECTIVELY IN ORDER TO REACH THE
AGREED COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING.

4. AS REGARDS PHASE II REDUCTIONS, THE WEST WOULD
BE PREPARED TO AGREE TO EITHER OF TWO ALTERNATIVES:

A) IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT BOTH
SIDES WOULD PROVIDE THAT THESE REDUCTIONS WOULD
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 270090

BE TAKEN IN PHASE II IN TWO REDUCTION STAGES:

- (1) IN THE FIRST OF THESE TWO STAGES, EACH
- SIDE WOULD MAKE REDUCTIONS CALCULATED BY
- TAKING AN AGREED EQUAL PERCENTAGE OF 40
- PER CENT (COMMENT: ILLUSTRATIVE FIGURE)
- OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF REDUCTIONS STILL
- NEEDED BY THAT SIDE TO REACH THE COMMON
- COLLECTIVE CEILING AFTER THE AGREED PHASE I
- REDUCTIONS BY THE US AND USSR HAVE BEEN
- DEDUCTED. THESE REDUCTIONS WOULD BE TAKEN
- COLLECTIVELY BY ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON
- EACH SIDE OTHER THAN THE US AND USSR.
- THESE FIRST STAGE REDUCTIONS WOULD TAKE
- PLACE WITHIN A FIXED PERIOD OF TIME,
- SAY TWO YEARS, AFTER ENTRY INTO FORCE OF
- A PHASE I AGREEMENT.

- (2) IN THE SECOND OF THESE TWO STAGES, EACH
- SIDE WOULD ALSO REDUCE BY AN EQUAL PERCENTAGE
- OF 60 PERCENT (COMMENT: ILLUSTRATIVE
- FIGURE) OF THE TOTAL AMOUNT NEEDED TO COMPLETE
- MOVEMENT TO THE COMMON CEILING AFTER THE
- AGREED PHASE I REDUCTIONS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED.
- IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT THE
- NUMBER OF THE STAGE 2 REDUCTIONS OF PHASE II
- WHICH WOULD BE TAKEN BY THE US AND USSR

- AND THE OVERALL TOTAL OF REDUCTIONS TO BE
 - TAKEN BY THE NON-US AND NON-SOVIET DIRECT
 - PARTICIPANTS RESPECTIVELY WOULD BE SPECIFIED.
 - SECOND STAGE REDUCTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE
 - WITHIN A FIXED PERIOD OF TIME AFTER ENTRY
 - INTO FORCE OF A PHASE I AGREEMENT, E.G.
 - THREE YEARS.
 - (3) SECOND PHASE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD DETERMINE
 - THE MODALITIES OF THE PHASE II REDUCTIONS
- SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 270090

- ESTABLISHED IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I
- AGREEMENT AND DEAL WITH OTHER TOPICS WHICH
- MAY BE RAISED BY THE PARTICIPANTS.

(B) THE ALTERNATIVE TO "A" ABOVE WOULD READ AS FOLLOWS:

- (1) IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT THE
- NUMBER OF REDUCTIONS OF GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL
- TO BE TAKEN IN PHASE II BY THE US AND THE
- USSR AND THE OVERALL TOTAL OF REDUCTIONS
- TO BE TAKEN IN PHASE II BY ALL NON-US AND
- ALL NON-SOVIET DIRECT PARTICIPANTS RESPECTIVELY
- TO REACH THE COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING WOULD
- BE SPECIFIED. THIS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN ADDITION
- TO PROVIDING FOR AGREED US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS
- AND LIMITATIONS IN PHASE I AS THE WEST HAS
- PROPOSED.
- (2) THE PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS WOULD DETERMINE
- THE MODALITIES OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS
- ESTABLISHED IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I
- AGREEMENT AND DEAL WITH OTHER TOPICS WHICH
- MAY BE RAISED BY THE PARTICIPANTS. A COMMITMENT
- IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT WOULD
- ALSO PROVIDE THAT THE PHASE II REDUCTIONS
- WOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN A FIXED PERIOD OF
- TIME, SAY THREE YEARS, FROM THE ENTRY INTO
- FORCE OF THE PHASE I AGREEMENT.

5. THE PROPOSAL TAKES INTO ACCOUNT REPEATED EASTERN INTEREST IN RECEIVING IN PHASE I ASSURANCE ON THE AMOUNT AND TIMING OF PHASE II REDUCTIONS BY NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 270090

6. IN BOTH ALTERNATIVES, PHASE I WOULD ALSO PROVIDE THAT, IF PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS FAILED TO RESULT IN AGREEMENT, EACH SIDE WOULD NEVERTHELESS IMPLEMENT THOSE PHASE II REDUCTIONS SPECIFIED IN CONNECTION

WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT.

7. AS REGARDS SOVIET PHASE I WITHDRAWALS:

- (1) THE WEST HAS PROPOSED THAT IN PHASE I THE
- SOVIET UNION SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE AREA
- OF REDUCTIONS TO THE USSR A TANK ARMY
- CONSISTING OF 5 DIVISIONS INCLUDING 68,000
- MEN, AND 1,700 MAIN BATTLE TANKS.
- (2) THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS ARE WILLING TO
- MODIFY THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL FOR THE
- WITHDRAWAL OF A COMPLETE SOVIET TANK ARMY
- WITH 68,000 MEN, 1,700 TANKS AND ALL OTHER
- EQUIPMENT TO THE EXTENT THAT THE SOVIET
- UNION IS EXPECTED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE AREA
- OF REDUCTIONS NOT A COMPLETE TANK ARMY
- BUT 68,000 SOLDIERS, 5 DIVISIONS AND 1,700
- TANKS. THE WEST WOULD NOT INSIST ON THE
- WITHDRAWAL BY THE SOVIET UNION OF ARMAMENTS
- OTHER THAN MAIN BATTLE TANKS. RESIDUAL
- HOLDINGS OF SOVIET COMBAT EQUIPMENT OTHER
- THAN TANKS WOULD NOT BE PLACED UNDER ANY
- LIMITATIONS. LIMITATIONS WOULD, HOWEVER,
- BE IMPOSED ON THE OVERALL RESIDUAL TOTAL
- OF SOVIET GROUND MANPOWER AND MAIN BATTLE
- TANKS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS.

8. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD POINT OUT TO THE EAST THAT THEY CONTINUE TO ATTACH IMPORTANCE TO ASSOCIATED MEASURES FOR INCREASING MILITARY STABILITY IN EUROPE. THESE MEASURES WOULD, IN OUR VIEW, HELP REDUCE THE RISKS OF MILITARY CONFRONTATION AND INCREASE CONFIDENCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THE WEST
SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 270090

THEREFORE INTENDS TO ADDRESS THIS SUBJECT IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AS A MATTER TO BE DEALT WITH IN A PHASE I AGREEMENT.

9. ANSWERING PROPABLE EASTERN QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS WESTERN PROPOSAL.

- (1) IF EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ASK HOW MANY
- REDUCTIONS THE WEST EXPECTS THE USSR TO TAKE
- IN PHASE II BEYOND THOSE PROPOSED FOR PHASE I,
- WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD REPLY THAT THIS
- PROPOSAL IS ADDRESSED TO THE EASTERN INTEREST
- IN A WESTERN COMMITMENT ON AMOUNT AND TIMING
- OF PHASE II REDUCTION BY NON-US WESTERN
- DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THE PROPOSAL DOES
- NOT SEEK TO RESOLVE ALL ASPECTS OF PHASE II
- REDUCTIONS. HOWEVER, THE WEST EXPECTS THE
- USSR TO TAKE ITS SHARE OF TOTAL EASTERN
- REDUCTIONS.

- (2) IF EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ASK HOW MANY
- REDUCTIONS THE WEST EXPECTS THE US TO TAKE
- IN PHASE II, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD
- SAY THAT THIS ISSUE HAS NOT YET BEEN DECIDED.

- (3) IF EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ASK HOW MANY
- REDUCTIONS THE WEST EXPECTS THE WESTERN
- EUROPEAN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO TAKE IN
- PHASE II UNDER EITHER ALTERNATIVE, WESTERN
- NEGOTIATORS SHOULD REPLY THAT THIS NUMBER
- WILL BE SPECIFIED IN CONNECTION WITH A
- PHASE I AGREEMENT AFTER AGREEMENT ON DATA
- IS REACHED.

SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 270090

- (4) IF EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ASK HOW THE
- NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT PROPOSED BY THE WEST
- WOULD OPERATE BETWEEN STAGES 1 AND 2 OF
- ALTERNATIVE A, WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD
- REPLY THAT, AFTER STAGE 1 HAD BEEN IMPLEMENTED,
- THE LEVEL OF THE NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT WOULD
- BE ADJUSTED DOWNWARD TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF
- STAGE 1 REDUCTIONS BY EACH SIDE.

- (5) IF EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES ASK WHETHER THE
- SPECIFIC PHASE I LIMITATIONS ON THE US AND
- USSR MILITARY MANPOWER WOULD BE ADJUSTED
- DOWNWARDS IN A PHASE II AGREEMENT TO REFLECT
- PHASE II US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS, WESTERN
- NEGOTIATORS SHOULD REPLY THAT THIS WOULD
- BE SO.

END TEXT. GLITMAN UNQUOTE VANCE

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETINGS, POLICIES, TEXT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 11-Nov-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE270090
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: ACDA/ISP: LFISCHER
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D770417-0733
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197711116/baaaeuhk.tel
Line Count: 256
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ac3d1a10-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 426950
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: TEXT OF FRG INITIATIVE
TAGS: PARM, GE, MBFR, NATO
To: BRUSSELS ROME
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ac3d1a10-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009